2: Dowson G-5 (1929-30) 1932 MHI Iraq MHI

312 movement in Table VI clearly, if not as completely and as accurately as I hoped to do. Although the figures given are incomplete and inexact in places they can be relied upon in the aggregate to furnish a trustworthy general picture of events. It will be seen that whereas in 1921 there were probably something like 140 pumps averaging about 11 horse power installed almost exclusively in the Baghdad and Amara Liwas, in 1929 there were over 2,000 pumps averaging from 25-30 horse power extending along all the principal waterways of the country. On the estimated basis of 50 *misharas* * per horse power the area irrigable by the former was about 200, by the latter about 7,400 square kilometres. According to Table I the total area of the riverain tracts affected is over 10,000 square kilometres; but only a fraction of this can be annually cultivated. The data are crude and the results must be regarded merely as rough approximations: but they indicate the wonderful extension of private pump irrigation that has taken place during the last ten years. It is [439] also interesting to note that the importation of pumps for irrigation purposes during the ten years 1920 to 1929 were 28, 110, 42, 18, 157, 157, 288, 288, 468 and 570 respectively, or a total of 2,066.

It is my duty in this report to consider this development primarily from the point of view of land tenure and in that connection to make some criticisms about the methods of land acquisition adopted that appear obvious enough now. Seriously as I think these errors have jeopardised the success of many of the pump undertakings, this should not be allowed to obscure the beneficial character of the general effort made, the valuable safeguard against famine that it provided, and the [166] powerful incentive to settle on the land that it created. And if the movement had not unfortunately coincided with the severest economic depression that the civilised world has encountered, the effects of the initial mistakes made would have been less prompt and less serious.

241 6. The general failure of a development from which so much was
464 hoped, is ascribed jointly and severally to a number of causes. Among
● 465 these may be mentioned (*a*) the absence of a suitable paying summer
439 crop, (*b*) the shortage and indisciplined character of available labour, (*c*) the prevalence of the share system of payment for labour and the consequent dislike felt by agricultural workers for crops that cannot be shared on the field in kind, (*d*) the lack of competent and dependable local agents and mechanics, (*e*) the poor and dirty quality of much of the produce and the consequently poor reputation of Iraqi agricultural commodities in the world's markets, (*f*) the defects of internal and the costs of external transport, (*g*) the general economic depression of the world and the glut of the world's markets with grain.

185 The question is such an important one, not only from the point of view of those who have sunk money and effort in these enterprises but also owing to its effect upon the prosperity and well-being of the whole country, that the Government for a long time have sought remedies in special legislative proposals designed to remove some of the difficulties mentioned. Among the objects more particularly aimed at may be instanced: the enforcement of the cultivation of a certain proportion of money crops (e.g. cotton), the binding of labour more closely to the soil, and the better regulation and more effective use of such labour. The power of legislation to bring about these and other improvements in the economic conditions of this extensive agricultural development, appears to me to be over-rated and the dangers of restrictive legislation operating adversely to be insufficiently realised.

312 Most of the causes enumerated earlier have probably exerted a

* A mishara is reckoned = 2,000 sq. metres.

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

166 185 must establish a horticultural plot, and on his arable land must maintain a balance between summer and winter planting. He must also devote sufficient land for stock pasture.

425 427 (4) Each settler must, from his own resources, level, hedge and provide irrigation ditches for his own plot.

(5) A co-operative society is formed and run by the holders. So far some 1,026 holdings have been established in the Dujaila area, and the total population of adults and children is between 871 185 12,000 and 15,000. At present there are only two schools with a total roll of 300 children, but the parents appear to be pressing for more educational facilities and two new schools, of good design, are in process of construction. The Provincial Director of Education, who takes a keen interest in the scheme, has plans for a distribution of primary schools throug' ut the whole area to avoid long travel by young children, and also wishes to establish intermediate and secondary schools situated in a central village which is about to be built. He is anxious that the upper forms of the primary schools shall develop a rural bias and that the intermediate and secondary schools shall have 'agricultural streams'.

427 425 241 185 465 It is perhaps early to judge the success of this scheme, which has been in operation for only four years and is still in process of development. From carefully checked evidence, however, it appears that the holders, most of whom were previously landless cultivators living at a low subsistence level, are making an average income of between £300 and £400 per annum. The sponsors of the scheme also maintain that, whereas the average grain produced from one dunum of land on privately owned farms in the neighbourhood is 100 kilos, the average from the same area in the Dujaila district is 250 kilos. From admittedly superficial observation the tenants would certainly appear to be living a richer and more robust life than their neighbours who remain landless cultivators. Many of the tenants have provided themselves with houses which, by local standards, are comfortably designed and furnished. The men have an appearance of dignity and independence. Indeed, it is claimed that 'you can always recognize a Dujaila man in the streets of Kut because of his confidence and bearing'.

427 185 The scheme has, possibly, certain deficiencies in that the tenants, apart from improving their holdings by tree planting, hedging and irrigation channels, are required to pay no rent. True they make a certain contribution to the public purse through the sales tax, but it may be wondered how wise it is to encourage an attitude of 'something for nothing'. Public services are badly needed in Iraq and even new land settlers should realize that they must be paid for. It is understood, however, from discussion

5:al Dalli S-5 (no date)1954 MHI Iraq MHI

654 of products.[1] Financial assistance thus provided by the Government,
652 together with the new Law for the Encouragement of Industry issued in 1950, proved of great potency in the development of industry. The capital of the Industrial Bank was increased in 1952, to I.D. 3,000,000 of which I.D. 1,200,000 have already been paid up.
433 These and other measures, such as increases in custom duties
656 and the restriction or prohibition of certain industrial imports, have produced marked progress in the establishment of new industries and the re-equipment and expansion of old ones, especially since the end of World War II.[2] This can be seen from the following table:

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Development of Large-Scale Industry in Iraq 1948 - 1952

Year (1st April - 31st March)	Capital Invested I.D. 1000	Value of Annual Output I.D. 1000	Number of Employees	Wages paid annually I.D. 1000
(Seven large Industries)				
1948 - 49	3,183	1,403	1649	
1949 - 50	3,194	1,555	2626	333
1950 - 51	4,206	2,631	3443	486
1951 - 52	4,415	3,600	3837	486
(Ten large Industries)[3]				
1951 - 52	4,835	4,424	4533	599

1 Industrial Bank, Compilation of Laws, Regulations, etc. Government Press, Baghdad 1951.

2 For pre-World War II industrial development in Iraq see: *A Handbook of Mesopotamia*, H.M.S.O., 1917. *A Report on the Progress of Iraq*, by H.M. Government to the League of Nations. H.M.S.O.,1931. *The Iraq Directory*, Baghdad, 1935 (English Edition). *The Economic Organisation of Iraq* (In Arabic), Editor Said B. Himadeh, Beirut, 1937.

3 See the *Annual Report of the Department of Industry 1951-52*, Ministry of National Economy, Baghdad. (In Arabic)
The Report of the National Bank of Iraq, 1949-50, p. 46 (in Arabic) states that national production of cement, beer, vegetable oil, soap, leather.. etc., has been substituted for similar imports with the result that value of imports fell from I.D. 2,984,000 in 1948 to I.D. 1,298,000 in 1950, and the deficit in the balance of trade was reduced by I.D. 1,686,000 due to this reason alone during the same period.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

654* 647 irrigation works among agricultural officials in the Ministry of Economics, the Irrigation Department of the Ministry of Public Works and health officials in the Ministry of Social Affairs. The efficiency of civil servants seems to have declined since before the war. Certainly the increase in the number of government employees (excluding police) from about 11,000 before the war to almost 20,000 in 1950 has been considerably out of proportion to the expansion in the government's functions. Many government offices appear to be overstaffed, while others cannot obtain extra personnel for essential increases in services. Officials are frequently shifted from one position to another without regard for their qualifications and experience. Often government officials both in the provinces and in the capital do not enjoy sufficient continuity in office to enable them to become really useful. Promotion appears to be based almost entirely on seniority and other considerations rather than on merit. The morale among government servants is generally low.

647 465 The two most important factors contributing to inefficiency and morale are probably the low level of government salaries and the lack of any sense of real participation in constructive work. Since before the war salaries and allowances have risen only 20 percent for high government officials and 160 percent for the lowest paid officials, while the official cost-of-living index has increased by about 400 percent. To some extent, however, there has been an increase in salaries through shifts to higher grades, so that, judging from comparative total disbursements of salaries and allowances, it may be concluded that average salaries have risen by about 130 percent since before the war.[7] Nevertheless, salaries, particularly of officials in the higher classes of the civil service, are very [461] inadequate. The probity of officials is thus put to a severe test and to the extent that some successfully utilize their positions as opportunities for personal gain, the morale of others suffers. Moreover, many civil servants are compelled to supplement their salaries by engaging in business or accepting other employment with resulting neglect of their official duties.

654* 647 The lack of a real sense of participation in constructive tasks is conspicuous in the civil service. The Mission found a wide-

[7] Total disbursements of ID 14,700,000 on salaries and allowances in 1949-50 compared with a sum of about ID 3,500,000 before the war.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

As a consequence they have a far healthier diet and are obviously better dressed. In fact, it is not uncommon to find a farmer who himself employs a fellah. Although this is partly a consequence of the large size of his plot (100 donums including fallow), it is indicative of his much higher standard of living.

In the towns, workers with regular employment would be much better off than the poor fellah, but in cities such as Basra and Baghdad where there has been a great influx of people from the country, there is considerable underemployment in addition to unemployment. Although, at the current rate of wages for casual labor (about 200 to 250 fils a day) a man might theoretically earn an annual income of ID 75 or more, there must be many who work irregularly and earn less than ID 50. Bread and rice are comparatively costly and, together with the rent of a room for a man's family, might take nearly half his income.

Wages are probably not much higher in many of the smaller and more primitive industries, but artisans such as plumbers and electricians are scarce and can command much higher wages. In the more modern industries, such as the oil industry, the Port of Basra and the new factories in Baghdad, a skilled machinist can earn a dinar a day or more. On the clerical side, in the lowest grade of the regular civil service a married official with more than one child receives ID 13 per month.

The higher income of the city-dweller with regular employment enables him to purchase a reasonable diet, better clothing and better housing. He also has access to educational and health services. Nevertheless, congestion and sanitary conditions are often very bad in certain parts of the cities and disease is common.

Above these various classes is the small rich group of landowners and merchants. No estimate of the proportion of the national income accruing to this group is possible, but some indication can be gleaned from the fact that a landowner in the South normally gets at least half the net value of the output from the land, while, in industry, profits may exceed the total payroll.

7: International Bank N S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

242 trained agriculturists.[11] In each province there is an agricultural staff of five to 20 men, but the officers are not qualified to direct research or extension work. The trained staff of the Veterinary Department is correspondingly restricted. It has already been mentioned that there are only 17 trained veterinarians in its field [465] service. In 1950 the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments had only 108 and 40 officers respectively with a base pay of over ID 15 per month.[12]

The field services operate under great handicaps. The officers are underpaid and thus often supplement their income by engaging in other work or by extending special favors. Neither their pay nor their standing in the community is such as to attract promising talent. Transport or other equipment such as laboratory facilities is frequently lacking. Excessive centralization leaves little room for initiative. Even the taking of a field trip requires the consent of the central office. The staff is preoccupied with routine tasks, generally of a regulatory or control nature, to the virtual exclusion of real research or extension work. They grow and distribute seed and nursery stock, do some control work on pests and diseases, carry out inspections and collect rather inadequate information on production. Moreover, their work is rigidly compartmentalized. There is little or no contact between those dealing with livestock and those concerned with agronomy and no coordination between agriculture and irrigation.

Organization of an Extension Service

One of the principal tasks of the future should be to organize an extension or advisory service to farmers and livestock keepers. Such a service, adequately equipped with transport, would devote itself entirely to assisting the farmers and shepherds in the field. Its main emphasis would be on education through demonstration. For this purpose it would need to establish crop, livestock and

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[11] These include in the Central Office at Baghdad, the director-general, two junior agricultural officers, one plant protection officer, one extension officer and one technical assistant; in the agricultural station at Abu Ghuraib, one senior livestock officer, two plant pathologists, one senior entomologist and four junior assistants; in the agricultural school at Abu Ghuraib, one director and two teachers; and in the horticultural station at Zafaraniya, one director, two assistants and two junior officers.

[12] With living allowances, this ranges from ID 23.750 to ID 26.750.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
Iraq MHI

the plants to vegetate without setting squares and bolls and that it also 248
increases the period of maturity, making the plants more susceptible to damage by insects late in the season. This is simply another of many problems in cotton culture which need to be studied carefully if the crop is to be expanded as rapidly as the government hopes.

Cotton usually is thinned to two plants per hill and weeded only about twice. This, together with the heavy irrigations, leaves the patches weedy. Farmers as a rule do very little cultivation except around the plant itself at the time of weeding. Then they try to pull the soil from the top of the ridge to leave the plants in the center.

The equipment used by the tenants themselves is in sharp contrast to the tractors now employed in land preparation. The only tools used in ridging [412]
are a pointed spade and a short-handled hoe. This is the same instrument used for planting, thinning, weeding, and the limited amount of cultivation.

Such practices are obviously laborious and time-consuming. One of the United States observers estimated that it takes three women all day to plant a quarter of an acre. Even at the low wage scale, equivalent to 25 cents a day, [465]
this costs $3.00 per acre. It would be less expensive to use mechanical equipment, even though the tractor drivers are paid the equivalent of about $1.25 per day, five times as much as common labor.

Complete mechanization may come quickly in the thinly settled new areas of the north, but in the denser, old areas labor is tied to the land in long-

—Photo Courtesy of E. R. Collier

In Iraq, as in most of the Middle East, cotton is brought to the gin in large burlap bags, ginned, and pressed into bales weighing between 400 and 500 pounds, when new equipment is used. Gins in Iraq wrap the cotton on all sides and wind a continuous band around the bale.

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Ml Middle East
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vocational schools; and according to control into government, private, and foreign schools. The law sets forth in a general way the conditions for admission of students to the various kinds of schools and of their promotion from one school level to another. It authorizes the Ministry of Education to declare attendance compulsory in those localities where adequate primary-school facilities exist. It defines the level of training required for teachers in each type of school, makes provisions for sending students abroad for study, and lays down rather careful stipulations for the supervision of private and foreign schools.

The Law on the Distribution of Grants-in-Aid to Private Schools and Institutions, enacted in 1926, stipulates that points to be considered in making grants are the standards of the school and the number of classes in it, quality of teaching, the number and preparation of the teachers, similarity of the syllabus to that of the public education system, the degree of the school's participation in public examinations—and the degree of success achieved by the students in such examinations—and the revenues and expenditures of the school. The recommendations of the regional educational director and the reports of the inspectors are taken into account, and the Ministry has the privilege of converting a sum granted into salaries to be paid to one or two teachers selected by the Ministry.

Other laws not primarily concerned with education have a definite bearing upon it. The Local Languages Law of 1931 defines the areas in northern Iraq where Kurdish, Turkish, or Arabic shall be the official language. In areas where any of these languages is that of the majority of the pupils, instruction in primary schools is in that language.

Teachers' salaries and pensions

The Civil Service Law of 1939, which applies to all government employees, governs the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of teachers. It links appointment and initial salaries to graduation from various levels of schools and makes promotion beyond 25 dinars ($100) conditional upon a university degree or a parallel examination. It allows teachers a vacation of three months annually, but also allows the Minister to ask any teacher to work without additional pay for a period not to exceed six weeks of that time. It provides for study leave with half pay for a maximum of two years, with an additional year at least three years after expiration of the first leave. Officials are allowed three months' sick leave at any one time on full pay and an additional three months at half pay. Men and women are paid equal salaries if their qualifications are equal.

The State Cadre Law of 1940 as amended by the Cadre Law of 1942

44:Matthews and Akrawi S,G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
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*875 fixes the types of government posts existing in each Ministry, with the minimum and maximum pay for each type. Primary-school teachers begin with 6 to 12 dinars ($24 to $48) per month according to their qualifications, and may reach a maximum of 25 dinars ($100). Teachers on the secondary cadre, including teachers of primary- and rural-teachers colleges and of vocational schools, begin at 15 to 30 dinars ($60 to $120) per month, the latter sum being the initial salary of teachers holding doctorates of British, American, French, or Egyptian universities, but not of central European universities. The maximum for a secondary-school teacher is 40 dinars ($160), with the exception of principals and holders of the doctorate, who may reach 50 dinars ($200). Instructors at higher institutions start at 18 dinars ($72), which is the initial salary for a new appointee holding the B.A. degree or its equivalent; if they achieve full professorial rank, they may reach a maximum salary of 70 dinars ($280). This is the maximum salary paid ordinarily to a Director General and is the highest salary paid to a civil servant. A few posts exist at 80 dinars ($320) for directors general of a "distinguished grade"—mainly former ministers or directors general of long standing and service. The policy of including the full professors among the most highly paid civil servants was adopted in the amendments to the Cadre Law of 1942 to encourage some of the ablest men in the country to turn to scientific work. This policy has extended to a degree into secondary education to lessen the pay differential between secondary-school teachers and holders of official administrative posts in government offices. Provincial-education directors and inspectors may reach a maximum of 40 dinars ($160), and specialized inspectors, a maximum of 50 dinars ($200).

*875 It will be seen that the civil service and the state cadre laws have on the whole made liberal provision for making teaching an attractive career for young men and young women. It is understood that amendments to the Civil Service Law are pending which will make educational service even more attractive, particularly in encouraging study abroad.

The Civil Pensions Law of 1940 provides that a civil servant of thirty years' service receives a retirement allowance equal to one-half of his average salary over the last seven years of his employment. A shorter or longer period of service pays proportionately. In case of death, the pension is paid to the wife and minor children in accordance with the inheritance law.

The Discipline of State Officials Law of 1936 provides for disciplinary boards in each Ministry to try officials, including teachers, for offenses com-

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
Iraq MHI

American Council Commission visited some schools in which the majority of teachers had been recently transferred, and in one province about a third of the principals had been shifted before the start of the school year. This practice makes for instability and lack of continuity of policy in the school and at the same time destroys personal interest on the part of teachers and principals in their own schools. As it is, teachers and principals tend to lay the blame for the shortcomings of the school on the shoulders of their predecessors. Responsibility for good or bad school management is lost, and it is difficult for the Ministry to appraise the work of the teachers. Appraisal is made by inspectors on the basis of short visits and reports of the conduct of the teachers rather than on long-term achievement.

No one cause explains the frequency of transfers, but a variety of reasons may be found. Among these are lack of cooperation or personal quarrels among teachers or between teachers and their principals and differences between teachers and the local populations or the administrative authorities, the fact that transfers drag other transfers in their trail, and the fact that dissatisfaction with their posts leads teachers to exert continuous pressure on the educational authorities for transfers to more favorable situations. Some of this is a natural and legitimate desire for advancement, but much of it arises from nostalgia for the home province or from the extreme discomfort of living in an outlying village. It is impossible to deny that most of the outlying villages lack the simplest and most necessary amenities of life: satisfactory living quarters are unavailable; there are frequently no facilities for buying fresh meat and vegetables or for medical care. Under such conditions conscientious work and professional enthusiasm do not flourish, however capable and well-intentioned the teacher may be.

A housing program for village teachers and their families would go a long way toward solving this problem and toward raising the morale of the teaching profession. The dividend secured in increase in teaching efficiency would be worth the cost. Moreover, at least some of the expense could be recovered in the form of rent.

Salaries and Promotions

Graduates of rural- and elementary-teachers colleges have a beginning salary of eight dinars ($32) per month; graduates of the three-year course in the primary-teachers colleges begin at ten dinars ($40) per month; and graduates of the four-year course—two years beyond secondary—receive 12 dinars ($48) per month. Salaries are paid for all twelve months, and teachers have a three-month summer vacation.

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
Iraq MHI

cial condition of teachers unsatisfactory. Unquestionably economic necessity urged a number of primary teachers to leave their profession for more lucrative jobs during the war, and the Ministry of Education lost many good teachers.

PRESERVICE AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The Ottoman Turks had maintained 3 teachers colleges, 1 in each of the larger cities of Iraq. Two of these were established after 1910 and had produced only a small number of teachers by the time World War I began in 1914. Moreover, these teachers were trained to teach in Turkish and were unfamiliar with literary Arabic. When the British occupied Basrah in 1915, they were moved by the paucity of teachers to start a short training course for a few young men at the American School for Boys. In Baghdad the supply of teachers was inadequate, and most of those available were considered unsatisfactory—whether for political or academic reasons—by the authorities. A three-month training course was started for anybody who was available. Out of this emergency beginning there later developed the Primary Teachers College for Men. First the course was lengthened to six months, then gradually to four years above primary school. In 1929 it was made two years, and later three years, above intermediate school. Finally, it was changed to a two-year course above secondary education. Parallel with this school was the "elementary course" for teachers which was started with two years and was lengthened to three years above primary school before it was metamorphosed into the present rural-teachers college with its five-year course above primary school. The teachers colleges for women had a similar course of development, though a later start.

All these shades of training are reflected in the composition of the present teaching body—with some additional varieties. Early in the twenties the authorities were forced to utilize disbanded officers from the Turkish army as teachers or principals. Later secondary- or even intermediate-school graduates as well as people who had a background of "private study" and products of private schools were appointed.

Table 25 gives the distribution of primary-school teachers in government schools according to qualifications.

The table shows that more than 85 percent of the teachers have had some sort of professional training, while the remainder have had none. However, both groups contain numerous teachers who have not even completed the secondary school. Graduates of the teachers colleges themselves are of widely varying standards. These facts suggest the need of a vigor-

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Ml Middle East
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Of the total of 613 teachers on the secondary cadre, 440, or 71.7 percent, have had degrees based on four or more years of college or university study; 123, or 20.1 percent, have had one, two, or three years of study above the secondary school; and 50, or 8.2 percent, are of secondary or lower standard. Of these, all of the Higher Teachers College graduates and some of the other university graduates have had professional education. 875X

Besides the Iraqi teachers there is a fairly large, but diminishing, number of non-Iraqi teachers on the secondary cadre. These numbered 125 teachers in 1944–45 of whom 80 were men and 45 were women. In addition, an undetermined number of part-time teachers is employed. These are paid by the hour and are not included in the cadre.

Secondary-school teachers' salaries as of January 12, 1946, were as follows; salaries being paid on a twelve-month basis: 875X 465

Monthly Salary	Number of Teachers
8–12 dinars ($32–$48)	9
15 dinars ($60)	16
18 dinars ($72)	312
21 dinars ($85)	156
25 dinars ($100)	47
30 dinars ($120)	46
35 dinars ($140)	19
40 dinars ($160)	2
Total number of teachers	613

The average salary of the Iraqi secondary-school teacher was 20.6 dinars ($82.40). These salaries do not include cost-of-living allowances. The salaries may appear low, but they should be compared with the maximum civil service salary (for professors and directors general) of 70 dinars ($280), with a few "distinguished grade" posts at 80 dinars ($320). The large number of salaries at the intermediate level is partially explained by the fact that the majority of the teachers are young and have entered the service rather recently. Of the 613 teachers, 492, or 80 percent, entered the service in the last ten years; 389, or 63 percent, in the last five years. The average service of secondary teachers of Iraq in 1946 was only 6.7 years.

Special types of secondary schools

Before closing this section on secondary-school education, mention must be made of two special types of secondary schools—King Faysal College and the secondary section of Queen 'Aliyah Institute which bring together boarding students from all the provinces of Iraq. 873X